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THE OLDEST FORM OF THE BEVES LEGEND

I

The almost simultaneous appearance of two independent and fundamental studies on the legend of Sir Beves of Hamtoun by Jordan[1] and Boje[2] has brought this difficult problem, which had been slumbering more or less peacefully since the publication, in 1872, of Rajna's *Ricerche intorno ai Reali di Francia* once more to the foreground. Apparently its ultimate solution is as remote as ever, for these two studies reach conclusions diametrically opposite, but in reality a considerable step forward has been taken. Boje has unquestionably shown

> dass wir im BH keine deutsche, keine angelsächsische, keine keltische, keine Wikinger-Sage, weder persisch-armenischen, noch griechisch-römischen Ursprung, und auch kein Gemisch von fränkischer Geschichte mit deutscher und persischer Sage und andern "verschiedensten und fernliegendsten Quellen" zu suchen haben; dass wir es im BH überhaupt nicht mit einer aus geheimnisvollen Tiefen entsprungenen Sage, sondern ganz einfach mit einem Roman zu tun haben, mit dem Werk—von den Bearbeitern abgesehen —eines Einzelnen, wenn dieser uns auch nach mittelalterlicher Art seinen Namen nicht überliefert hat. . . . .[3]

I believe that this conception of the origin of the oldest French form of the story is essentially correct, but it suffers from the fact that the Italian version has not been taken into the comparison. Boje practically neglects this altogether, though the limited evidence which he presents on pp. 19–21 against its critical value is in no way conclusive. Jordan's work is in this respect undoubtedly the better. Here the Italian version is properly placed by the side of the French version and compared with it.

Brugger in his review[4] of this study concedes that henceforth the Italian *Buovo* can no longer be neglected in a comparative study of this

[1] "Ueber Boeve de Hanstone," *Beihefte zur Zs. f. rom. Phil.*, 14. Heft, 1908.

[2] "Ueber den altfranzösischen Roman von Beuve de Hamtone," *Beihefte zur Zs. f. rom. Phil.*, 19. Heft, 1909.

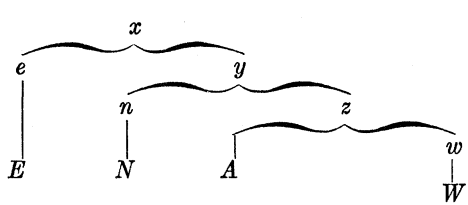
[3] *Op. cit.*, pp. 136–37.

[4] *Zs. f. franz. Spr. u. Litt.*, XXXIV², 25 ff.

story. However, he declines to accept Jordan's thesis in its entirety, and criticizes his failure to institute a fundamental re-examination of the relation of all the French versions to the Italian, thus showing that he is not convinced that the Italian *Buovo* gives a trustworthy picture of the original story. In his review of Boje's study,[1] on the other hand, he appears equally cautious with reference to this author's claim that the Italian version is nothing but a derivative of the French. A new examination of the question is therefore permissible.

In order to make this discussion clear it will be necessary to outline the problem briefly.[2] The story of Beves of Hamtoun has been preserved in two versions, the one French, the other Italian. The French version falls into two groups, distinguished not so much by the sequence of incidents, as by the geographical location of the hero's home. In the Anglo-French group (referred to here as *AF*), Hamtone is located in England; in the continental French version (*CF* in this study) the location of this city is on the Continent. There are numerous other differences between the two versions. *CF* is longer and contains traits not present in *AF*, and on the other hand *AF* shows features absent from *CF*. But these differences do not affect the framework of the story; events in the two groups follow the same order.

AF was studied by Stimming in the introduction to his well-known edition of the Anglo-Norman *Boeve de Haumtone*.[3] It is represented by four branches, English (*E*), Anglo-Norman (*A*), Norse (*N*), and Welsh (*W*), whose relation is shown (*op. cit.*, p. clxxiv) by the following diagram, in which the small letters designate lost French versions:



[1] *Zs. f. franz. Spr. u. Litt.*, XXXV², 49–59.

[2] For a more complete orientation I may refer to the two studies of Boje and Jordan already cited.

[3] *Bibliotheca Normannica*, VII (Halle, 1899).

Stimming's conclusions have been generally accepted, and we are not called upon to re-examine the evidence.

CF comprises six unpublished forms,[1] two in Paris (*P*, P^1), one in Carpentras (*C*), and three in Italy (Turin, *T*, Rome, *R*, Venice *V*) which have been studied by Stimming.[2] To this list Boje adds a seventh manuscript in Vienna (*W*), which forms the basis of the analysis of *CF* as it appears in his study. All attempts to group these versions with reference to each other have proved futile. The story of Beves of Hamtoun was evidently tremendously popular in the thirteenth century; it was told and retold by jongleurs until variations and additions became so numerous that it is at present impossible to unravel the confusion. These continental French versions are jongleur versions, made by jongleur authors. They keep intact the central threads of the story, but they borrow freely from intermediate forms which have at present disappeared. At the same time certain large features of relationship have persisted. *CT* and *PR* are in general fairly distinct, and P^1, though frequently agreeing with *CT*, often stands alone, while *V* seems on the whole more closely akin to *CT* than to the other group. Boje's new version *W* agrees in general with *PR*.

In spite of this confusion, however, one point is clear: *AF* and *CF* represent two independent forms of the same story, agreeing in outline so closely that we are forced to look upon them both as offspring of a common source. Which of the two is the more authoritative, however, even the most searching comparisons could not establish, for *AF* always appeared as important as *CF*.

[1] [Since Matzke completed his article, P^1 has been published by Stimming: *Der Festländische Bueve de Hantone*, Fassung I, Dresden, 1911. Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, Band 25. A dissertation (Göttingen) on the language of this version, by L. Behrens, is announced.

Matzke's *Frc-it.* has also been published in full by Joachim Reinhold: "Die franko-italienische Version des Bovo d'Antone," *Zs. f. rom. Phil.*, XXXV, 555, 683; XXXVI, 1–32. Reinhold now plans a critical edition of the whole of MS XIII (*Litteraturblatt*, XXXIII, col. 150).

F. Oeckel (Göttingen dissertation, 1911) concludes that MS *P* (Fassung II of Stimming) "ist höchstwahrscheinlich um 1280 von Pieros du Riés geschrieben worden, und zwar in pikardischem Dialekt."

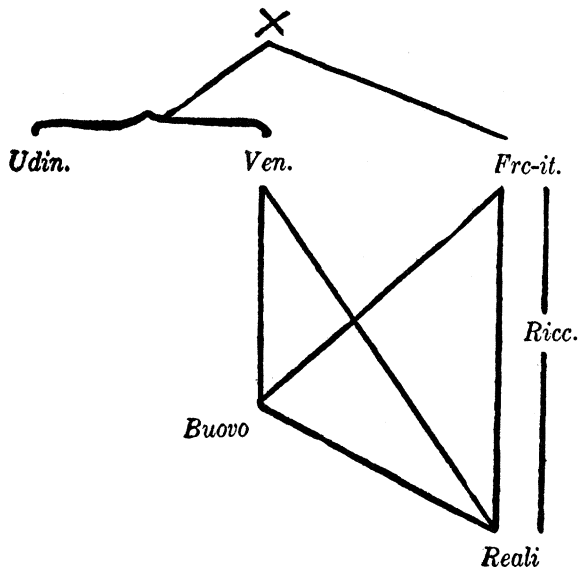
None of these studies enters into the main question treated by Matzke.—T. A. J.]

[2] "Das gegenseitige Verhältniss der französischen gereimten Versionen der Sage von Bueve de Hanstone," *Abhandlungen Herrn Prof. Dr. Adolf Tobler . . . . dargebracht*, Halle, 1895, pp. 1–44.

The manuscripts and texts important for the Italian version are the following:

1. Venice, *San Marco, Mss. frz. cod.* XIII. This manuscript is incomplete so far as our story is concerned: all that precedes the return of Buovo to his native land has been lost. It begins with the account of a battle of the hero and his governor Sinibaldo against the army of Dodone. See Rajna's *Ricerche,* pp. 134–35 (*Frc-it.*).

2. Florence, *Laurenziana, codice mediceo-palatino* XCIII; published by Rajna, *Ricerche,* pp. 493–566. (The *Veneto* text= *Ven.*)



3. Udine, *Archivio capitolare della cattedrale;* fragments published by Rajna, *Zs. f. rom. Phil.,* XI, 162–83 (*Udin.*).

4. Florence, *Riccardiana cod.* 1030, fragment published by Rajna, *Zs. f. rom. Phil.,* XV, 55–87; for a detailed discussion see *Zs. f. rom. Phil.,* XII, 463–510 (*Ricc.*).

5. *Buovo, poema Toscano in ottava rima;* see Rajna, *Ricerche,* pp. 155–78.

6. *Reali di Francia,* Book IV; see Rajna, *Ricerche,* pp. 178–209.

The inter-relations of these texts have been carefully studied by Rajna, and no evidence has been presented which would in any way

invalidate his conclusions. He has shown (1) that the manuscripts and texts enumerated represent two Italian forms of our story, *Ven.* and *Udin.* on the one hand, and *Frc-it.* and *Ricc.* on the other; (2) that the *Buovo* is based upon *Ven.* and the *Reali* on *Frc-it.* and *Ricc.;* (3) that either form knew the other manuscript group and was affected by it, and that in addition the *Reali* drew upon the *Buovo* as well as upon the French version. If we incorporate in Rajna's scheme[1] facts established in his later studies, the diagram on page 22 will show the grouping of the Italian versions (*It*).

II

When we compare this Italian version with *AF* and *CF* we are struck by the thoroughgoing rearrangement which the story has apparently undergone. It is shorter, incidents differ in detail, and the sequence of events in certain places is so fundamentally altered, that it is evident that we are dealing with a new form of the story, which might serve as the *tertium comparationis* which was lacking in the study of *AF* and *CF*. We note further that the traitor stepfather of Beves is Dodone di Maganza, agreeing with *CF* where he is called Doon de Maience, while in *AF* he is Doon, emperor of Germany. This fact, added to many others, makes it clear that *It* is more closely related to *CF* than to *AF*.

We now see a twofold possibility for the explanation of its origin. The shorter form (*It*) may represent a rearrangement of *CF*, or it may have come down along an independent line from the original form of the story. The former of these two explanations has been the one generally accepted by scholars. Consequently *It* has been systematically neglected, an attitude resulting from the very superficial examination accorded to it. If this attitude be correct, *It* may indeed be slighted; yet it cannot be entirely ignored. Even though it be a variant without argumentative value, it should be possible to assign some reasonable explanation for its origin and present form, and an attempt to find such an explanation was made by Brockstedt.[2]

Brockstedt maintained that the original Italian Beves story was the work of the author of the Italian *Fioravante*, that both these

[1] *Ricerche*, p. 217.

[2] *Flooventstudien*, Kiel, 1907.

texts are composed after the same pattern, and that either story, as we have it, was modified by features drawn from the other. Granted that *Fioravante* shows borrowing from *Beves*, it does not follow, however, that the reverse is equally true, unless it can be proved, first, that *It* does not represent an independent and authoritative form of the Beves story. Consequently Brockstedt is forced to outline his position with reference to the arguments that have been advanced in support of the other point of view. On pp. 31–32 he enumerates seven such arguments drawn from Rajna's *Ricerche*, pp. 135–40, and of these he discusses two in detail.

Rajna had maintained that in the Italian story, when it is not influenced by the French versions, Antone is located on the Continent and that the hero has no contact with the king of England. Where the English incidents and geography are found in Italian, as in *Frc-it.* and the *Reali*, they are due to secondary influence of the French versions. Brockstedt, on the other hand, attempts to show (pp. 33–34) that it cannot be affirmed with certainty that any one of the existing Italian versions really ignored the English features of the French Beves story. *Ven.* is incomplete and might have lost these references, and the *Buovo* poem, which according to Rajna is based mainly on *Ven.*, has an evident variant of the scene of the theft of Beves' horse by the son of the king of England, and, in canto XIV, 84 ff., it cites England as the hero's home. While this is correct, it should be noted that the *Buovo* poem is a late composition, that more than half of it represents undoubtedly the author's additions, and that the two features cited by Brockstedt might thus very easily have come in through the author's knowledge of other versions of the story which contained the English incidents. The *Ven.* text was probably not much longer than the portion that has been preserved,[1] and the reference to England as the hero's home occurs precisely in the section of the poem not duplicated by *Ven.*

In the next place, Brockstedt attempts to discredit Rajna's claim that the logical arrangement of *It* is an argument in support of its priority. He asks, "Muss denn die ursprüngliche Version auch immer die vorzüglichere, bessere sein?" It may be said that this attitude is perfectly sound, and yet the possibility that the view

[1] See Rajna, *Ricerche*, p. 172, and note also Jordan's objection, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

which Brockstedt combats is actually correct is not destroyed by such a theoretical objection. Experience has shown that in general the more logical form of any story is apt to be the older. The principle might hold true also in the present instance, and if this should prove to be the case Brockstedt's whole argument would crumble.

The main support of his theory, however, lies in his belief that the rôle of Malgaria in *It* is derived from the French *Floovent.* The argument in favor of this indebtedness is rather circuitous in nature. The French *Floovent* has the figure of Maugalie, a pagan princess who from love for Floovent aids him to escape from his prison. Maugalie is called Drugiolina in the Italian *Fioravante,* consequently her name must be modeled upon that of Drusiana of the Italian Beves story. Now, in the latter story, Malgaria protects Beves in a somewhat similar way, and since this scene of the Italian story has no counterpart in the French versions, the figure and rôle of Malgaria must be that of Maugalie driven out of the *Floovent* story.[1] The weakness of this reasoning is evident. Granted that the *Fioravante* shows influence of the Italian Beves story, the reverse does not necessarily follow. If it should be shown that the rôle of Malgaria belongs to the French source of the Italian versions, the similarity of scene and name between the two poems would continue to exist, but Brockstedt's whole structure would fall to the ground. And as a matter of fact we shall see later[2] that there are some valid reasons for maintaining that the Malgaria episode stood in the French source of *It.*

Becker[3] indorsed Brockstedt's view; Brugger also apparently accepts it.[4] Yet it seems to me evident that the essential point which must be firmly established at the outset is the very question whether *It* is or is not a representative of a more original form of the

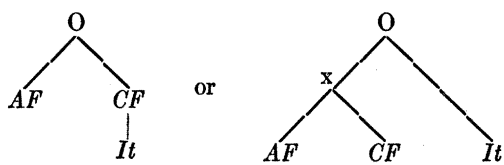
[1] "Nun ist die Gestalt der Drugiolina ausschliessliches Eigenthum des Fior., d. h. der ital. Version des Floovent; in der frz. Ueberlieferung fehlt jede Spur von ihr. Dann *kann* aber auch die Malgaria des Buovo *nicht* schon aus einer frz., womöglich noch hochalterthümlichen Beuve-Version stammen. Vielmehr *muss* sie einem ital. Bearbeiter ihre Einfügung in die Buovo-Dichtung verdanken. *Damit ist erwiesen* dass der Buovo nicht ein früheres, sondern ein späteres Entwickelungsstadium der Beuve-Sage verkörpert als dasjenige, von dem die frz. Versionen Zeugniss ablegen."—*Op. cit.*, p. 35. The italics are mine.

[2] See p. 26.

[3] *Litbl. f. germ. u. rom. Phil.*, 1908, col. 29.

[4] *Zs. f. franz. Spr. u. Litt.*, *XXXV*², p. 50.

Beves story than that preserved in *AF* or *CF*. Until this question has been answered it will be useless to search for the models or for the formula that might have determined the recasting of the original story into its Italian form. The answer to it must lie in a close comparison of *It* with *AF* and *CF*. The Italian form must be either an offspring of *CF*, or it has come down along an independent line of transmission from the same original story from which the common source of *AF* and *CF* has sprung. Represented by diagrams, the relation of our three groups must be either



No other possibility is apparently imaginable.

III

The first to voice the conviction that *It* represents an older form of the Beves story was Rajna. When he wrote, however, *AF* and *CF* were scarcely accessible, and his argumentation was more or less general in nature, so that his conclusion was based upon the broad outline of the two versions rather than upon characteristic details. His arguments[1] are those summed up by Brockstedt.[2] Not all are equally cogent; the strongest is based upon a comparison of the general outline of the two versions. The Italian is consistent, and the various sections of the story are logically connected. While in the French version the second exile of the hero forms practically a poem by itself which can be separated from the first half of the story without interfering with its structure, in the Italian form these two sections are so consistently joined that no division is possible.

However, Rajna's reasoning failed to convince scholars, and we have just seen how Brockstedt deals with this particular argument. The better method of procedure was followed by Jordan, who subjected the three forms of the story to a critical examination, section by section, with the result that the independent value of *It* can no longer be doubted; the conclusion must be that the French form

[1] *Ricerche*, pp. 135–40.

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 31–32.

represents a reworking, and further investigation as to its origin must be based upon the Italian form. Doubt may exist, however, with reference to the question which of the members of the Italian group is to be given the preference. Jordan selected *Ven.*, which he completed in one or two places, where the only existing manuscript has lost a folio, by a reference to the manuscript at Udine which fortunately supplements the gap, but he apparently neglects completely the *Reali* and the fragmentary *Riccardiana* manuscript. The two Italian versions established by Rajna are fortunately so similar that this neglect does not, as a matter of fact, impair the value of Jordan's conclusions. His main thesis will have to be accepted, but his failure to include all the available material in Italian has led him here and there to overlook matter which undoubtedly stood in the French source of the Italian versions.

The method should be to reconstruct this source through the comparison of the Italian versions. Unfortunately the fragmentary nature of most of them makes this impossible. Only the *Reali* version is complete; *Ven.* has gaps in the body of the story and lacks the end, and the other three manuscripts present only fragments. Moreover, Rajna has shown that Andrea da Barberino's *Reali* represents a fusion of widely differing sources, and since the French version was among these it would seem to follow that the importance of the *Reali* for critical purposes must be very slight On the other hand this opinion can be checked to a certain extent by the publication of the *Riccardiana* fragment, which derives from *Frc-it.*, the main source of the *Reali* and also known to Andrea da Barberino. It replaces, therefore, the corresponding lost portion of *Frc-it.* and makes it possible to compare the two Italian forms of the story for fourteen out of the eighty chapters of the *Reali*. This number is of course insufficient, but it is better than nothing. While it does not overthrow the conclusions of Rajna with reference to the composite nature of the *Reali*, it nevertheless emphasizes the fact that in general the *Reali* represents a parallel version to the *Veneto* text, and that as a matter of principle it should be born in mind that, unless other evidence of undoubted value shows the *Reali* to be untrustworthy, it is always possible, when this form of the story differs from *Ven.*, that we have there matter of equal critical value with

that found in the *Veneto* text. In a critical study of the problem, therefore, the *Reali* should not be neglected, as it has been by Jordan.

Let us point out some of the material which this larger method will add to the discussion.

1. After Buovo's escape from his mother, when he is rescued by the vessel that takes him to Erminia, he relates to his rescuers, and likewise to Erminione after his arrival in that country, a fictitious story concerning his antecedents which agrees in all the available versions, with this difference that in the *Reali* he adds that his name is Agostino. This feature is duplicated by the *Riccardiana* fragment, which proves that it is not due to the initiative of Andrea da Barberino,[1] but that it may have stood in the lost portion of *Frc-it.* and was omitted by the author of *Ven.* This possibility becomes a certainty when it is borne in mind that a fictitious name of strange but curiously similar form (Angossoxo) is adopted by Buovo in the *Veneto* text, when he returns to his home to battle against Dodone (l. 1836), and that in similar manner in the French versions Beves makes use of the fictitious name Gerraud, Gyrant, Gyrald, or Girart de Dijon, when he returns to his home. It is evident that the motive for the fictitious name belongs to the story, and we shall see later how important this fact is for the correct understanding of its original form.

2. After his arrival in Erminia, Buovo becomes first stable-boy, then page of Erminione, and as such he serves him at table. His handsome bearing is noted by Drusiana, the king's daughter, who makes advances to win his love. In this connection one scene in particular should be noted. It is present in all the Italian versions, but the *Veneto* text is incomplete here, and Jordan rejects it.[2]

Drusiana has noted the presence of the handsome youth and wonders how she could show him the love she bears him. Finally she decides to entertain her ladies, borrows servants of her father for the occasion, and names Agostino as one of them. She arranges matters so that Agostino must wait upon her in particular. Before the meal begins, and while he hands her the basin to wash her hands, she throws some drops of water into his face and laughs at him when he bows his head and does not know what to say. Later she notes

[1] Rajna, *Zs. f. rom. Phil.*, XII, 500, wrongly calls this name a "neologismo" of *Ricc.*

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 15, § 6a.

that the tablecloth hangs down to the floor, and she drops her knife calling upon Agostino to pick it up. While he does according to her bidding she also stoops down and kisses him, so that Agostino blushes from embarrassment. The incident with the basin stands only in *Ricc.* and the *Reali,* but the rest is present in all, except *Frc-it.*, and should stand in the analysis of the Italian story. It is even possible that the complete incident should be included, for the form of *Ricc.* is as authoritative for the source of the Italian versions as *Ven.*

3. On p. 15 of his analysis (§ 6) Jordan commits another error, due to the same method. After the mention of the tournament, arranged to select the husband of Drusiana, in which Buovo is victorious, Jordan says, "Er erhält den Preis, einen Kranz," and he continues, "Druxiana zwingt B. durch Drohung, die Vergewaltigte zu spielen, ihr den Kranz zu schenken und ihr ihn eigenhändig auf den Kopf zu drücken." Jordan has clearly misrepresented the scene, which should be as follows:

One morning (*Udin.;* one Sunday morning from joy, *Ricc.;* in order to avoid serving Drusiana, *Reali*) Buovo goes into the fields to cut grass for his horses. He makes a garland which he puts on his head and thus adorned, he returns to the city where the tournament is in progress. Immediately he takes part in it (here *Ven.* begins) and overcomes Marcabrun. Drusiana witnesses the encounter from a window or balcony of the palace. When it is over, she goes to see Buovo in the stable (*Ricc.* stops here) and obtains the garland from him. In *Ven.* and *Udin.* she threatens that she will accuse him of having wronged her; in the *Reali* this threat is absent, but there can be no question that the scene as such should be present in an analysis of the Italian story.

4. The marriage of Josiane is prepared in both *AF* and *CF* in a section which interrupts the account of Beves' imprisonment; see Jordan, p. 17. A similar section is absent from *Ven.*, so that here the information necessary for the understanding of the situation is furnished to the reader only at the time of Buovo's arrival in Monbrando, when these facts are brought out through the hero's questions. Jordan thinks that the *Veneto* text undoubtedly has here the older form of the story. An interruption of the narrative, such as the

French shows, he thinks indicates a "younger" technique.[1] The question is not vital, for whether the section involved is present or absent, the main outline of the story remains unchanged. However, *Reali*, IV, 20, corresponds exactly to the section in question, while at the same time the differences are such that it is unlikely that Andrea da Barberino drew here upon the French versions.

In the latter, Josiane notes Beves' absence and is told by her father, who has sent him to Damascus, that he has gone to England to avenge his father's death, stating that he would not return. Josiane remains faithful to him and takes care of Arundel and Murgleie. Soon Ivori de Monbrant asks for her hand, and she is married to him. Knowing some witchcraft she fashions a girdle which will keep her intact for Beves. Thus protected, she goes to Monbrant, taking along Murgleie and Arundel, who allows no other person to approach him. Certain members of *CF* speak here of a dream through which Josiane is warned of Beves' danger, and the father tells her he has gone to Damascus. There are other variations as well, but in general *CF* resembles *AF*.

In the *Reali*, Erminione is inclined to look favorably upon his daughter's marriage to Buovo and his disappearance is therefore a riddle to him. He makes efforts to find him for two years, but in the end he decides to marry Drusiana to Marcabrun. When she consents she exacts the condition that the actual consummation of the marriage shall be deferred for one year, in the hope that Buovo might in the meantime come to her new home at Monbrando in Polonia. She goes to Marcabrun's court, taking with her her lover's arms, his horse Rondelo, her cousin Giorgis, and Pulicane, who later plays such an important rôle in the story and whose antecedents are here explained.

Again probability is in favor of the view that the form of the story found in the *Reali* is as worthy of credence as that of the *Veneto* text. The passage just discussed, not with all its details but in its essence, stood in the Franco-Italian source of Andrea da Barberino, and to a certain extent it has the support of *AF* and *CF*.

5. One more similar instance may end this portion of my argument. It has to do with the arrival before Monbrando of the ship

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 58.

on which Buovo has made good his escape from his prison. The *Veneto* text is fragmentary at this point, so that Jordan's analysis (p. 18), in spite of the fact that he makes use of the second of the *Udine* fragments,[1] is quite imperfect. The true bearing of the scene becomes clear only through comparison with the *Reali.*

Jordan's analysis is intentionally vague. Buovo asks the name of the land which the ship is approaching, and receives the answer that it is called Monbrando. The speaker is not identified; Jordan says "antwortet man," and the inference must be that the information comes from one of the sailors who in some unexplained way is acquainted with the facts in question. It is apparently also these same sailors who row Buovo ashore. Reference to the *Reali,* however, shows the real facts to be quite different. Here the ship by chance and contrary winds arrives before the city of Polonia. A fisherman, busy in the mouth of the river (the *pescier de bon aira* of the *Udine* fragment), is called near the ship to answer Buovo's questions. From him he learns that the city is preparing for a great festivity. Marcabrun is on the point of celebrating his actual marriage with Drusiana, who had stipulated a year of freedom in the hope of Buovo's return. The sailors pay the fisherman thirty pieces of gold, and he takes Buovo to the shore, entertaining him all the while with additional details about the impending celebration.

On the shore he meets the robber-pilgrim who had deprived him of his sword when he was on his way to Sadonia with the fateful letter, forces him to exchange clothes with him, and thus disguised he enters the city. Here the *Veneto* text and the *Udine* fragments leave us, and when they resume the story they contain several allusions which remain obscure without the aid of the *Reali.* There is a reference in the *Veneto* text, l. 1194, to the murder of the chief cook by Buovo, apparently in self-defense. The text reads (ll. 1196–98):

> Eo li domandava per Dio carità;
> El prexe un stiço, tuto me brostolà.
> S'io me defendì nol abiè per mal.

Presently he meets Drusiana, and when he speaks Buovo's name before her, she warns him that the mention of it is forbidden in the city:

[1] *Zs. f. rom. Phil.*, XI, p. 179.

Tu no se lo bando chi è in sta cità:
Chi Bovo mençona de' esser apica [l. 1216–17].

The first of these passages is lacking in *Udin.*, but the second is corroborated by it. The full explanation becomes evident only when the *Reali* is consulted. Here the fisherman who takes Buovo ashore tells him that the mention of Buovo's name is a capital offense in the city and this leads the hero to inquire after Buovo on a number of occasions, which is probably evidence that the trait has been elaborated. He obtains food in an inn, because the merchants flee in fright at the sound of Buovo's name, he shouts it to some women whom he meets coming from church. One of these proves to be the maiden who aided him to escape when his mother tried to poison him; he almost precipitates a quarrel between a knight and a merchant playing chess in the palace when he asks alms for Buovo's sake. Finally he arrives in the kitchen of the palace where the same daring mention of his name leads to an attack upon him during which he kills the "siniscalco della cugina" with a stick, for he was ashamed to draw his sword in such surroundings.

Unquestionably it would be wrong to incorporate this lengthy scene in its entirety in the source of the *Reali*, but the importance of this text for the Italian form of the story is again clearly vindicated.

Lack of space forbids the continuation of this comparison. The purpose was to emphasize the position of the *Reali* in this study. It is evident that this text has a very definite place in the argument, and that in the comparative study of the Italian and French forms of our story it should always be consulted.

With this idea in mind I have re-examined the whole problem, and the result has been ample vindication of the claim advanced by Rajna and Jordan. Detailed examination of the various forms of the story reveals numerous phases where the Italian has undoubtedly the better form. Roughly speaking, these instances fall into two groups. In the first, *AF* and *CF* differ and *It* agrees now with the one, now with the other. Since the common origin of *AF* and *CF* is assured, it follows that *It* must have been independently transmitted from the original version of which the common source of *AF* and *CF* is another offspring. In the second, *It* agrees with one or the other of the various versions of *CF*. If the agreement were per-

sistently with the same French version we should be forced to infer, in spite of the argumentative bearing of the first group of agreements, that this version was closely related to the lost French source of *It.* But such is not the case. Though some of the versions of *CF* present more frequent points of contact with *It* than others, yet no one version monopolizes this position, and this fact added to the constant presence of contact between *AF* and *It* forces us to the same conclusion as to the agreements of the first group.

It is not my intention to reproduce here the arguments nor the proofs, since I could re-establish only what Jordan in my opinion has already shown to be the case. In an investigation of this nature which rests upon a large number of minute agreements, all apparently leading to the same final conclusion, a difference of judgment as to one point or another does not invalidate the result any more than the addition of a number of similar agreements would materially strengthen it. Indeed, but for the criticisms of Brugger[1] on Jordan's work, a repetition of the argument need not be considered. My purpose is different. I wish to show through an examination of the structure of *It* the formula according to which its source was composed, and to point out the group of French poems to which it belonged. If I succeed in this attempt I shall have added another strong argument for the originality of *It* in its essential outline, and I feel confident that I shall be pardoned for not entering again into the wearisome details which a minute comparison of the various versions would demand.

IV

Let us begin by contrasting the framework of *It* with that of the French versions. For more detailed analysis I may refer to the studies of Jordan and Boje.

ITALIAN VERSION

EXILE FORMULA

The hero is driven from his home. The characters are the wicked mother, the murderer of the father, the faithful servant or governor. The hero escapes.

[1] See *Zs. f. franz. Spr. u. Litt.*, XXXIV[2], p. 27. Becker, *Litbl. f. germ. u. rom. Phil.*, 1909, col. 62, writing under the influence of Brockstedt's work, belittles the method without giving the impression, however, that he has seriously considered it.

ARRIVAL IN ARMINIA

The aged king has a young daughter.
The hero disguises his identity and assumes a fictitious name.
First deeds of prowess.
The princess falls in love with the hero and makes advances.
An unwelcome suitor appears with a hostile army.
The hero is knighted and wins a victory.
The king looks favorably upon his marriage to his daughter.
Enemies malign the hero and he is driven from the country.

URIAS LETTER

The hero is sent with a letter to Sadonia.
A pilgrim plunders the hero.
The hero arrives in Sadonia, and is thrown into prison.

ARRIVAL IN SADONIA

The king has a young daughter who falls in love with the hero.
The hero remains faithful to his first love.
The first princess is married. (The marriage is to become real only at the end of a year = *Scheinehe*.)
The hero escapes from prison.

ARRIVAL IN MONBRANDO

The hero arrives at the home of the first princess at the very moment when her marriage is to become a reality.
The hero appears in disguise.
The hero and heroine escape.

PULICAN EPISODE

Pulican enters into the story.
Birth of twins and death of Pulican.
Separation of hero and heroine.

RETURN TO ANTONA

The hero returns to his home and conquers his heritage.

FINAL SOLUTION

The second princess calls for help and the hero hurries to her assistance.
Proposed marriage of the hero to the second princess.
Opportune arrival of the hero's wife, the first princess.
The second princess marries a friend of the hero.

The simplicity and symmetry of the formula according to which this story is constructed will stand out clearly if we compare it with

the involved structure of the French version.[1] The formula in general is evidently identical, but its symmetry is broken in such a way that the second love adventure of the hero, which in the Italian story is an outcome of the first, is here entirely independent of it, so that it has the appearance of an isolated incident. Moreover, the story is encumbered with numerous incidents which have no direct connection with the central theme.

FRENCH VERSION

EXILE FORMULA

The characters are the cruel mother, the murderer of the father, the faithful servant or governor. The hero is sold into slavery.

ARRIVAL IN EGYPT

The aged king has a young daughter.
The hero reveals his identity.
First deeds of prowess.
The princess falls in love with the hero and makes advances.
An unwelcome suitor appears, whom the hero overcomes.
Enemies malign the hero, and he is driven from the country.

URIAS LETTER

The hero is sent to Damascus with a letter.
A pilgrim warns the hero.
The hero is thrown into prison.

The princess is married to Yvori of Monbrant, and she protects her virginity by witchcraft.
The hero escapes from prison.

HE JOURNEYS TO FIND THE PRINCESS

He comes to the castle of a giant.
He goes to Jerusalem.
He reaches Monbrant disguised as a pilgrim.

THE HERO AND HEROINE ESCAPE

Lions kill their servant.
Escopart (Pulican) appears.
They reach Cologne by ship.
The princess and Escopart are baptized.

[1] The outline which follows is based upon the Anglo-Norman poem. *CF* differs in details, but not in the sequence of events.

THE HERO RETURNS TO HIS HOME

The princess is left in Cologne in charge of Escopart.
The hero arrives in his home under a fictitious name.
New danger of the princess; she is married to Miles.
The hero conquers his heritage and punishes his stepfather.
The hero returns to Cologne and rescues the princess.
The hero and heroine are married.

THE HERO GOES TO LONDON

Description of a race.
The hero's horse kills the prince of England.
Escopart turns traitor.

SECOND EXILE OF THE HERO

Twins are born to the hero and heroine.
The heroine is carried off by Saracens.
The faithful servant sets out to seek the hero.

ARRIVAL IN CIVILE

The duchess of Civile falls in love with the hero and makes advances.

The hero contracts a marriage in form (*Scheinehe*) for seven years with the duchess of Civile.

The faithful servant and wife of the hero appear at the end of seven years.

The second heroine marries a friend of the hero.

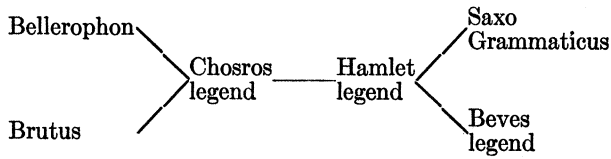
FINAL INCIDENTS

The traitors are punished.
The hero's sons become kings.
The hero and heroine die.

V

A discussion of the attempts to explain the origin of this story, all based, it must be borne in mind, on the belief in the priority of *AF* and *CF*, may be found in Jordan's study, pp. 1–8. Of this list that of Zenker[1] is the most important. He identifies the Beves story with the Hamlet legend as related by Saxo Grammaticus, and derives both from a common source, itself a derivation of the Chosros legend; this in turn is formed through a combination of the Brutus and Bellerophon legends. The following diagram will make this descent clear:

[1] *Boeve-Amlethus*, in Schick and Waldberg's *Literarhistorische Forschungen*, Berlin, 1905.



This filiation is rejected by Jordan, but Brugger accepts the final link in it in his review of Jordan's study. The main argument upon which Zenker bases his claim lies in the similarity of the Urias letter and the Civile episode to corresponding features in the Hamlet legend. Now it is evident that the second of these arguments must fall if the Italian form of the story is the more authoritative, for then the Civile episode is clearly a variant of the second love adventure of Buovo with Malgaria. We may therefore dismiss this argument for the present and leave its final explanation to a subsequent portion of this study. The Urias letter is discussed by Zenker, *op. cit.*, pp. 45 ff. and 403 ff. Additional references may be found in his Index. The form which Saxo utilizes is shown most clearly in two French stories of the thirteenth century, the *Dit de l'emperour Coustant*[1] and a prose novel.[2] I add the outline of these stories as given by Zenker, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

An emperor of Byzantium, Florien in the *Dit*, Muselin in the *Prose*, hears that the stars predict that the newly born son of one of his subjects will marry his daughter and become his successor. He gains possession of the boy in order to kill him, but without his knowledge the boy remains alive and is brought up in a cloister under the name of Coustant. When he has grown up, the emperor sees and recognizes him and sends him to a castle with a letter commanding the provost to kill the bearer. Coustant arrives at his destination, but before delivering the letter he lies down in the garden before the castle and falls asleep. Here the emperor's daughter sees him, falls in love with him, and exchanges, while he is sleeping, the letter which she finds on him for another in which the provost is directed to marry the princess at once with the bearer. Thus Coustant becomes the emperor's son-in-law and later his successor.

Barring the change of names and minor features, the Hamlet

[1] Published by Wesselofsky, *Romania*, VI, pp. 162 ff.

[2] Moland et d'Héricault, *Nouvelles françaises en prose du XIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1856, pp. 1–32.

legend contains this motive in identical form. But when we compare it with the corresponding portion of the Beves story important differences appear, and these Zenker has failed to note.

Here Beves is sent with a latter to the sultan of Sadonia (Damascus in the French versions) containing instructions to put the bearer to death. When he has delivered the letter, in the French version the sultan refuses to kill him. Beves had previously overcome him in battle, and the sultan had sworn allegiance to him;[1] he is thrown therefore into prison. In the Italian versions Malgaria (Margarita in the *Reali*), the sultan's daughter, who has been impressed by the handsome bearing of the young stranger, intercedes for him with the same results that Buovo is imprisoned. Now it should be noted that in neither version do we find the characteristic feature of the former story, by which the fateful letter is exchanged for another which deceives the recipient as to the real intention of the message. And this substitution is characteristic of all the forms of this motive discussed by Zenker in various portions of his book. The only exception is the Bellerophon legend, *op. cit.*, p. 314. Bellerophon is sent by Proitos to Jobates with a letter containing directions to kill the bearer. Jobates receives him amicably and then charges him with the execution of various dangerous exploits (the slaying of the Chimera, and two wars) in the hope that he will thus find his death.

There is a curious trait in the Anglo-Norman form of this motive which at first sight would seem to argue in favor of similarity. Jobates receives Bellerophon amicably and treats him as a favored guest for the space of nine days. Similarly Beves, instead of being thrown at once into prison, is treated to a royal meal at which the king himself waits upon him; see ll. 925 ff. This similarity, however, may be misleading, and we may have here simply the final meal, the last kindness shown the victim before his execution. Under any circumstances there is nothing similar in the *Veneto* text nor in the *Reali*.

The vital objection brought forward here against Zenker's view has been perceived by all those who have had occasion to discuss

[1] So in the Anglo-Norman poem, see ll. 917 and 635 ff. The abstracts in Stimming's study give no indication what reasons the sultan advanced in the versions of *CF*.

the origin of our story.[1] Only Brugger intercedes in its favor,[2] but the reasons which he advances in its support do not seem to me convincing. The similarity between the Beves and the Hamlet legends at this point is deceptive. In the one we have the Urias letter, in the other the rewritten letter, which deceives the recipient. The two may be related, but if so it is the first and not the second that is the older form of the motive. And under these circumstances it does not seem to me impossible that its source for the Beves legend may be found in the Bible. If, however, Brugger should be correct in his doubt concerning the actual influence of the Bible upon Old French narrative literature, a doubt, which seems to be founded upon fact, then this motive will have to be looked upon as a folkloristic trait current in the East and brought into our story at the time of the Crusades. A large portion of it is plainly located in the Orient. Under any circumstances, to prove descent from the Hamlet legend here stronger arguments will have to be produced than the possibility that the author of the original Beves story might have changed the form of the motive to suit his altered purpose.

The second of Zenker's arguments is based upon the motive of the second marriage, clearly present in the Hamlet legend: this he compares with the Civile episode in the French Beves story.[3]

Hamlet, having become king of Jutland, returns to Brittany to visit his father-in-law and his wife. For reasons, which we may omit here, the father-in-law sends him with a second Urias letter to Scotland to ask for him the hand of a lady who had made a vow of chastity and punished all her suitors with death. The purpose of this second letter miscarries not in identical fashion but with similar result. Hamlet is not killed, the lady Hermuthruda falls in love with him, and Hamlet marries her, so that he is now the husband of two wives. However, his father-in-law does not forget his purpose to kill him, and when Hamlet sees his death approaching he tries to arrange another marriage for Hermuthruda. She is most outspoken in her objections to this plan, but this fact does not prevent her from marrying the victor as soon as Hamlet has passed away.

[1] See Deutschbein, *Studien zur Sagengeschichte Englands*, Cöthen, 1906, p. 211; Jordan, *op. cit.*, pp. 99–101; Boje, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

[2] *Zs. f. franz. Spr. u. Litt.*, XXXIV², p. 32, and again XXXV², p. 57.

[3] See *op. cit.*, pp. 25 ff.

In *AF* Beves, separated from his wife and children, arrives in Civile, which city according to the Norse version is beset by unwelcome suitors for the hand of the lady of the land. He wins a victory for her, the lady falls in love with him, and he repels her advances because of his existing marriage with Josiane. Finally he is forced to enter a marriage in form which is to be consummated in fact at the end of seven years, if the first wife should still remain undiscovered at the end of that period. Before this time has elapsed, however, Josiane arrives and the duchess of Civile is forced to accept a friend of Beves as husband in his place.

I refrain from analyzing the arguments advanced by Zenker to prove relationship between these two stories. He even goes so far as to maintain that the hostile bearing toward all suitors, characteristic of Hermuthruda, is still evident in the general attitude of the duchess of Civile. All this reasoning is artificial and forced, and is of no value if the Civile episode represents a variant of the second love adventure of Buovo with Malgaria in the Italian poem. Let us see what position the Malgaria episode occupies in the plot.

Buovo, the bearer of a Urias letter, arrives in Sadonia (Sinella[1] in the *Reali*) and Malgaria, daughter of the sultan, at once falls in love with him and is instrumental in saving his life. Instead of being put to death he is thrown into prison. She visits him and offers her love, which he refuses for the memory of Drusiana. After a time he escapes, finds Drusiana, and together they plan to return to Buovo's home. Fate separates them again, however, and in such a manner that Buovo has every reason to believe that Drusiana has lost her life. He returns to his home alone, and conquers his heritage. Later he receives a call for help from Malgaria who is beset by an unwelcome suitor. He goes to her aid and prepares to marry her after his victory when Drusiana fortunately appears in time to prevent the marriage. In consequence Malgaria becomes the wife of Teris, one of Buovo's friends.

It is evident that the two episodes are entirely different; what is possible, apparently, to establish for the Civile episode could not be thought of for the Italian scene. Nor is Jordan's explanation, that both forms of this episode are derived from a *Märchen* of eastern

[1] For the explanation of this name see below, p. 32.

origin, of which "The story of the king who lost everything"[1] is a close relative, any more convincing, because Jordan has entirely misunderstood the nature of Buovo's second marriage.

VI

The real explanation of the whole situation is to be found in the development of *The Legend of the Husband with Two Wives*, which I have studied in detail in my article on "The Lay of Eliduc."[2] Brugger, in both the reviews cited above, referred to the analogies which I collected there without, however, drawing the conclusions which the evidence merits. I may be pardoned, therefore, if I recapitulate here the results of that study. Certain Old French stories are constructed by doubling the exile formula, found in simple form in *Mainet*. A youth, unknown and deprived of his heritage, arrives at a court where he distinguishes himself by his bravery and is raised to an important office. A princess falls in love with him, but their union is opposed by jealous enemies. The hero is maligned and driven from the court, vowing faithfulness to his lady. He arrives at another court where in a similar way he wins the love of another princess but remains steadfast to his first love. In the meantime the first princess is forced to accept another suitor, and the hero arrives just at the crucial moment to hinder the marriage; or, on the other hand, the hero, believing his first love dead, accepts a second union, and then the first lady appears just when the new marriage is to be consecrated. This reduplication explains the plot of the song of *Horn et Rimenhild*, and the romance of *Ille et Galeron* is a variant of the same story.

I also tried to show in the same study that the Beves story in its central plot is based upon the same reduplication of the exile formula. Stated in these words this conclusion is sound, but the argument by which it was reached will need to be modified. My study was based upon *AF*, as shown in the Anglo-Norman poem. If instead we make the Italian version the basis of the comparison, the relation of these poems to each other will stand out in even clearer outline, and this fact in itself is proof that the Italian has preserved a more primitive form of the Beves story.

[1] Chauvins, *Bibliographie arabe*, VI, p. 164. [2] *Modern Philology*, V, pp. 211–39.

The initial episode, relating the exile of Buovo, stands alone, but beginning with his arrival in Erminia the resemblance is fundamental. Buovo disguises his antecedents, takes on the fictitious name of Agostino,[1] and distinguishes himself by his prowess so that the king's daughter falls in love with him, but he repels her advances. An unwelcome suitor now appears at the head of a hostile army; Buovo is knighted and receives horse and armor from the princess. He wins a victory, and in consequence the king looks favorably upon his marriage to his daughter. Now enemies malign him and he must leave the country. Similarly Charles flees to the court of Galafre at Toledo. He is accompanied by his trusty governor David, a trait not present in the Beves story, but a similar figure is presented by Sinibaldo, who protects Buovo before his flight from his home. They live at Galafre's court under the fictitious names of Mainet and Esmeré. Mainet overcomes Caïmant, the commander of an attacking army, wins the love of Galienne, is knighted, and receives horse and sword. The king is willing to bestow the hand of his daughter upon him, and he kills an unwelcome suitor. Then traitors malign him and he must leave the court.

Horn, driven from his home, arrives at Suddene at the court of Hunlaf. Rigmel, the king's daughter, falls in love with him; he advances his obscure station as an objection. Enemies attack Hunlaf, Horn wins a victory, is maligned by traitors, and must leave the court. He goes to the court of Gudreche in Westir, where he wins the love of the princess Lenburc, though his antecedents are unknown and he lives under the fictitious name of Gudmod. Enemies attack Gudreche, and Horn wins a victory, so that Gudreche decides to give him Lenburc as wife and make him his heir, but Gudmod remains faithful to his first love. Just so Buovo is driven from Erminia and arrives in Sadonia, where Malgaria at once falls in love with him. The sultan offers to make him his heir if he will accept Mahomet as his god, but Buovo refuses for the love of Drusiana.

Ille, driven from his country, arrives at the court of Conain, whose sister Galeron falls in love with him. He proves himself invaluable; Conain makes him his seneschal and gives him his sister as

[1] See above, p. 10.

wife. Later the two are separated. Ille arrives unknown and as a simple squire at the court of the emperor of Rome and wins the love of the princess Ganor. The emperor looks favorably upon the marriage, but Ille refuses and makes the confession that he has a wife living in Bretagne. Messengers are sent to gather information about her, and when they return with the news that Galeron has disappeared the marriage of Ille and Ganor is arranged for. However, before this union can be solemnized Galeron appears and is reunited with her husband.

Buovo manages to escape from Sadonia and finds Drusiana, who had in the meantime been married to Marcabrun, just as her year of respite had elapsed, and when her marriage was to become a union of fact as well as form.[1] They escape together and after a period they are separated again. Buovo, believing her dead, returns to his home, but in reality Drusiana had escaped to her father's court. Sometime later a call for help reaches him from Malgaria, who is beset by an unwelcome suitor, and he hurries to her aid. After a victory he prepares to marry Malgaria, when Drusiana appears in time to hinder the wedding and Malgaria is given as wife to Buovo's friend Teris, just as in the English version of *King Horn* the hero proposes another marriage for Lenburc.

Ille et Galeron may be cited once more as presenting still another similarity to the Italian *Buovo* at this point. I called attention to the fact in my previous article, p. 227, that what is now the solution in this poem must be a later addition to the original story, which probably ended with the reunion of Ille and Galeron. When the latter had entered a nunnery, and Ille is again free, he receives a call of help from Ganor, who is beset by an unwelcome suitor. He hastens to her aid, overcomes her enemy, and marries her.

This comparison of the Italian *Buovo* with these French poems shows clearly the intimate relation which exists between them. The Italian poem, to be sure, does not derive from any one of them, but we are evidently moving in a very small circle of ideas, and the various traits of which the Italian story is composed in its central outline can all be duplicated from a small group of French texts.

[1] Similarly Horn returns to Suddene just in time to frustrate the marriage of Rigmel. The Italian version, especially the *Reali*, definitely emphasizes the time element at this point; see above, p. 12.

The conclusion is evident. The French source of the Italian *Buovo* must represent a lost member of this same group.

In this type of story the rôle of Malgaria is an essential element: without her, the plot loses its characteristic symmetry. Brockstedt's thesis,[1] therefore, cannot be maintained. Malgaria, not with this name, but in her rôle in the story, must belong to the French source of the Italian, and as a matter of fact there is some evidence which can be advanced in support of this claim. Of the nine *-ant laisses* found in the *Veneto* text, which clearly indicate its French source, one, ll. 2326–36, belongs to the section of the story which has to do with the expedition led by Buovo to the relief of Malgaria when her cry for help reaches him. It follows that this particular part of the story stood in the French source, and since the relief expedition has no reason for its existence unless its motivation, Buovo's relation to Malgaria, was also present, we have here some very definite proof that the Malgaria episode belonged to the French form of the story. If *Floovent* influenced the Beves story—and for the present I am not prepared either to affirm or to deny this claim—that influence was exerted on a French version and can have affected only the externals, but not the essential meaning of the rôle of Malgaria.[2]

VII

Let us now repeat the simplest outline of the formula upon which the French source of the Italian *Buovo* was constructed. Buovo is driven into exile where he wins the love of Drusiana. Traitors malign him and the two lovers are separated. In his new surroundings he wins the love of Malgaria which he rejects in order to remain faithful to Drusiana. In the meantime the latter is married. She manages to obtain a year of respite, and Buovo arrives just as this

[1] See above, p. 7.

[2] Deutschbein was thus quite correct when he compared the Beves story with *Mainet* and *Horn et Rimenhild* in his *Studien zur Sagengeschichte Englands*, pp. 181–213. His failure to appreciate the full meaning of the approximation which he instituted arose from the fact that he was dealing exclusively with *AF*. Our story has been compared with the Horn legend also by Hoyt in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XVII (1902), pp. 237–46. As result the author claimed "that the central story of the Beves is equivalent to the Horn." Hoyt's study was similarly insufficient because it was based solely upon the English versions of these two poems, but it is important to recognize the fact that even in these forms the two stories are sufficiently similar to lead Hoyt to a conclusion which is essentially correct, though of course not in the literal sense in which its author intended it to be accepted.

period is about to expire. They escape together, are separated once more, and now Buovo, believing Drusiana dead, is on the point of marrying Malgaria when Drusiana appears just in time to prevent this fatal step. Malgaria accepts a friend of Buovo for her husband.

To this central plot the author made various additions, and of these three should be examined somewhat in detail: (1) the introductory exile formula, (2) the Urias letter, (3) the imprisonment of Drusiana and the author's method of separating the hero and heroine the second time.

The exile formula.—What form had this formula in the original story? The two outlines which we may construct critically differ in some details, and we are face to face with the problem as to which we shall accept, the Italian or the French form.

The Italian form is the simpler. Here we have the wicked mother, the traitor who is a former suitor of the mother and also cherishes a family feud against the father, the trusty governor, the attempt of the mother to poison the hero, and his escape. In the French form all these features are present either in *AF* or in *CF* besides various additions. The hero rebukes his mother for her treachery, the trusty governor protects the hero by presenting to the mother apparent evidence that he has executed her command to kill him, the hero enters the castle while the wedding of mother and stepfather is in progress and insults the latter and in consequence the mother orders him to be sold into slavery.

All attempts to solve the difficulty which have been made by Zenker, Deutschbein, Jordan and Boje have apparently failed, for in every case subsequent criticism has been able to show the inaccuracy of the previous contention. What stands out most clearly in this discussion is the fact that whether the Italian or the French form be the better, the form of the exile formula which introduces the Beves plot is unique. While in every instance it is possible to cite parallels for one trait or another in mediaeval literature, no one story can be cited where we have exactly the same combination as here. It is not my purpose to add to this discussion since I am unable to shed new light on the problem. I do, however, wish to examine briefly the thesis maintained by Zenker, denied by Jordan,

Deutschbein, and Boje, and again rehabilitated by Brugger,[1] that the Hamlet legend here also shows a great similarity with our story. In order to make the discussion clear it will be necessary to give an abstract of this portion of the Hamlet legend.

The brothers Horvendill and Fengo are kings of Jutland. Horvendill wins the love of Gerutha, daughter of king Roricus. Amleth is the result of this marriage. But Fengo envies his brother, kills him, and marries Gerutha, pretending that Horvendill had maltreated her and that he had killed him in order to protect her. Amleth feigns madness in order to find a safe opportunity to wreak his vengeance. His ruse is suspected, and attempts are made to lead him to betray himself. Finally after one of these unsuccessful efforts he has an interview with his mother in which he rebukes her, calling her by the lowest names, and so disturbs her that she repents of her past life and again enters upon the path of virtue. Fengo now decides to kill Amleth, but not daring to undertake the deed himself he sends him with a Urias letter to the king of Brittany.

Brugger here emphasizes the following facts: (1) The mother marries the murderer of her husband; (2) the hero has an interview with the mother in which he rebukes her; (3) the method of revenge. Amleth in the end kills Fengo in his bed, just as the returning Buovo in the Italian version visits his stepfather who is lying sick on his couch. Fengo is killed outright, while Dodone is merely ordered to leave the city, but Brugger adds that, being a knight, Beves could of course not murder an enemy who could not defend himself, while the more primitive Amleth does not know such a scruple.

Brugger's sound sense in matters of this kind demands a careful consideration of all his arguments. In the present case he is largely influenced by the fact that he considers the Urias letter of our poem to be a derivation of the similar letter in the Hamlet legend. Since this is unlikely, however, as I have attempted to show above, one important prop of this structure is removed, and what remains is scarcely sufficient to maintain the conclusion. In our story the mother decrees the treacherous death of her husband, the traitor is a former lover, the hero is protected by a trusty governor, the mother tries to kill him, he escapes or is sold into slavery, and so forth. The

[1] *Op. cit.*, XXXIV², pp. 30–32.

whole structure of our formula is so different that actual similarity is not evident outside of the few traits mentioned by Brugger. If we now examine these more carefully we shall scarcely be willing to attribute much argumentative value to the third in the above enumeration. In the first place Brugger draws here a single trait from the Italian version, apparently because it suits the argument, while in other instances he is ready to dismiss this version as untrustworthy. It should be noted next that all three versions differ. In *AF* Doon is captured in battle and Beves orders him thrown into a pit full of boiling lead; in *CF* Beves kills Doon in battle and the body is afterward dragged about by horses and hung. Under these circumstances it is futile to try to determine the original form of the story. If the primitive character of the trait is an indication of its age, *AF* would have claims for recognition which the Italian version cannot present. One may ask, however, whether the important feature in this motive in the Hamlet legend does not after all lie rather in the fact of the punishment of the stepfather than in the method in which it is dealt. Fengo is killed by Amleth, but in the Italian version the stepfather, though visited by Buovo while he is lying ill in bed, escapes to King Pepin of France and does not reappear in the story. He receives punishment only in *AF* and *CF*. Then the French versions would agree with the Hamlet legend instead of the Italian, but this agreement does not help the argument, for no further similarity is evident.

This leaves the tumultuous interview of mother and son and the mother's marriage to the traitor as the sole connecting links. The former stands in *AF* and *CF*, the latter is found in all three versions. Both might be looked upon as inventions of the author of the original Beves story. But such reasoning is apparently not supported by what we can observe to have been the habits of the mediaeval authors. It is more probable that our author found both traits in the formula which he followed. If it is necessary to accept relationship of our story with the Hamlet legend, since no similar traits seem to exist in any other of the known forms of the exile formula,[1] it would still not be impossible that the Hamlet legend drew upon the original

[1] The tumultuous interview might be a duplication of the scene of the disturbed feast (the wedding feast in *CF*), which belongs properly to our formula, for it is found in a similar form in the *Mainet*. Duplication of traits is characteristic of the method of composition of the French versions, as I shall show below, p. 32.

form of the Beves story, though of course this is rather unlikely in view of the fundamental differences between the two that have been pointed out. Saxo wrote not long after 1208,[1] and the oldest form of the Beves story must have existed before that date, for the author of the M.H.G. poem on Graf Rudolf, who wrote about 1170, seems to have imitated the source of *AF*.[2] My conclusion is therefore that influence of the Hamlet legend on our story is not proved, besides being highly improbable. The exile motive in the Italian *Buovo* has certain traits in common with other O.Fr. poems, and certain other features of the French *Beves* can likewise be duplicated, while others finally, common to all our versions and therefore characteristic of the oldest form, are unique.

The other two large additions of the original author may be passed over somewhat more rapidly. The Urias letter has been discussed at sufficient length. The second separation of Beves and Josiane or Drusiana makes use of a well-known theme appearing in various mediaeval poems, for which the Eustace legend has in general been accepted as source. For a discussion of it I may refer to Gerould's exhaustive study on "Forerunners, Congeners and Derivatives of the Eustace Legend"[3] and to Jordan's article "Die Eustachius Legende und ihre orientalischen Verwandten."[4]

VIII

This conception of the origin of the literary form of our story will be materially strengthened if the method of elaboration, followed by the author of the common source of *AF* and *CF*, can be made reasonably clear. I have shown that the formula upon which the original Beves story was constructed consisted in the reduplication of a simple theme. Further examination of the French form of the story will reveal the fact that it is this principle of duplication which has been further developed, thus giving rise to the various incidents which distinguished the new version from the older. The most striking feature of the story and at the same time the source of its

[1] See Zenker, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

[2] See Deutschbein, *op, cit.*, pp. 192–94.

[3] *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XIX (1904), pp. 335–448.

[4] *Herrigs Archiv*, CXXI, p. 341 ff.

undoubted popularity in the Middle Ages, is the separation of two faithful lovers, who are brought together again just as the one or the other is to be lost forever by marriage.

The Italian has two such scenes: (1) Drusiana, married to Marcabrun, stipulates a year of respite and Buovo appears on the very day when this promise ends; that is to say, he arrives on Drusiana's wedding day. (2) Buovo prepares to marry Malgaria and now Drusiana appears on the very day this wedding is in progress. The elaboration of this theme in the French versions is evident.

1. The marriage of Josiane to Yvori is one in name only. In the Anglo-Norman poem she preserves her virginity by means of a magic girdle, in the English poem she wears a magic ring. In *CF* the girdle does not appear but Josiane accomplishes the same result by magic herbs or sorcery. This marriage in form in both versions lasts for seven years just as the marriage in the Civile episode, and at the end of this period Beves escapes from prison and carries Josiane away.[1]

2. Josiane, left in Cologne under the protection of Escopart, is married against her will to Duke Miles. Again she protects herself with the help of the magic girdle, not through its magic powers, however, but in that she strangles the unwelcome husband with it. In the English manuscripts she uses either a towel or her girdle, which, however, is not a magic girdle. In *CF* Josiane is told that Beves has been killed (note that in the Italian version Buovo believes Drusiana dead, when he prepares to marry Malgaria), the wedding is prepared, and Beves arrives at the church just as the ceremony is in progress. There is a fundamental difference between the two versions here, and one may hesitate which to accept as the better form. The Anglo-Norman poem duplicates the marriage with Yvori, *CF* rather reflects the marriage of Buovo to Malgaria, where Drusiana appears at a similar opportune moment. *CF* may have the better form, for Horn arrives similarly in Suddene just as the marriage of Rigmel to Modin is in progress[2] and Galeron appears at the church door in Rome when Ille is to be married to Ganor.[3]

[1] In the Italian version this period is one year and three months (*Ven.*) or three years and four months (*Reali*).

[2] See Brede und Stengel, *Das anglonormannische Lied vom wackern Ritter Horn*, Marburg, 1883, ll. 4098 ff.

[3] See *Ille und Galeron* von Walter von Arras, *Rom. Bibl.*, VII (Halle 1891), ll. 4042 ff.

3. The Civile episode is also clearly a duplication of the marriage of Josiane and Yvori. In its essence, to be sure, it is the Malgaria episode of the original poem, a fact which is still apparent in the names of the cities in which the two scenes are located. The continental versions call the city Sivelle, which is unquestionably identical with Sinella, the home of Margarita in the *Reali:* the problem is to explain how Andrea da Barberino obtained this name. In the *Veneto* text the court of Malgaria's father is located at Sadonia and according to Rajna, *Ricerche*, p. 206, this is also the name of this capital in *Frc-it.* He suggests that the original name was the Spanish Sevilla, corrupted by French copyists, and he cites the form Cynelle, from printed French prose versions of *CF*. In that case, however, it would follow that Andrea da Barberino associated the Civile episode, which he must have known (for it seems evident that he allowed himself to be influenced by the French versions) with the Malgaria episode and that he consciously dropped Sadonia for Sinella. Such an attitude seems to me, however, highly improbable besides not being supported by the facts. Where the *Reali* resembles the French versions it does so in complete scenes, but there is no evidence, at least as far as my observation goes, that Andrea consciously selected a single trait in what he believed to be a related French scene in order to incorporate it in his own account. Besides, the Civile episode equals the Malgaria episode when looked at critically and comparatively, but there is no such striking similarity between them that an author like Andrea could have considered an improvement of his story if he accepted the geography of the one for the other. And there certainly could not be pointed out any other possible influence of the Civile episode upon the *Reali* account of the Malgaria episode. Taking all these considerations into account, it seems to me clear that Sinella must come from one of Andrea da Barberino's sources. Since *Ven.* and *Frc-it.* fail us here, we may believe that the name stood in the complete *Riccardiana* text. Even this suggestion, hypothetical as it is, appears to me more reasonable than the opposite view that Sinella is Sinelle (Cynelle) < Sivele < Sivelle.

We may now study the form of the French episode. The marriage of Beves and the duchess of Civile is a marriage in form for a period of seven years, just as that of Josiane and Yvori, but the acting

parties are reversed. The situation is cleared up by the appearance of Josiane as the former was solved by that of Beves. In the continental versions, the horse Arundel recognizes Josiane disguised as *jongleresse*, just as he had recognized Beves, disguised as pilgrim, at Monbrand. Beves offers his marriage to Josiane as an objection to the new union, just as Josiane keeps herself pure for the love of Beves.[1] The method of the duchess of Civile in her advances to Beves is identical with that of Josiane. Both make advances and become violent when Beves repels them, both send a messenger to Beves begging him to come to them, and in both instances the women go to him when he sends back word that he will not come to them.[2]

Finally the appearance of an unwelcome suitor in either version brings the situation to its climax.[3] If the Anglo-Norman poem alone were available here, this statement would apparently be incorrect for the second scene, but its accuracy is guaranteed by the Norse version,[4] and the fact that the larger number of the continental versions explain the attack upon Sivele in a similar manner.[5]

4. We may note also that the Pulican episode of the original story has been divided, and Pulican becomes Bonifey and Escopart. The former is, however, not a pure fabrication of the French author, for the *Reali*, and hence probably also the French source of the Italian version, has the figure of a cousin of Drusiana who in the beginning fills a somewhat similar rôle as the Bonifey of the French versions. This cousin is called Giorgio,[6] later his name appears as Fiorigie in my copy. He is present when Rondello recognizes Buovo,[7] just as Bonifey in the Anglo-Norman poem.[8] When their flight is discovered,[9] he is suspected of complicity and killed by one of Marcabrun's courtiers. Evidently here the *Reali* have again preserved a fuller account than the only other available text, the *Veneto* poem, and it is the figure of Fiorigie which the French author has elaborated with data belonging to Pulican.

[1] See the Anglo-Norman poem, l. 990.

[2] *Ibid.*, ll. 670–774 and 2855–2885.

[3] *Ibid.*, ll. 503 and 2824.

[4] See Stimming, *Boeve de Haumtone*, p. cxxvi.

[5] See Stimming, *Tobler volume*, p. 33.

[6] See *Reali di Francia*, chaps. 20 and 23.

[7] See *Reali*, chap. 24.

[8] See ll. 1435 ff.

[9] See *Reali*, chap. 27.

But the direct counterpart of Pulican is Escopart. That the figure belongs to the original story has been recognized by others, but whether his name had the form Pulican (*Veneto*) or Pulicane (*Reali*) is not equally clear. In the Anglo-Norman poem, l. 1780, he says of himself "*jeo sui un fere publicant e ay a non Escopart fort e combatant.*" The *Veneto* text calls him Pulican, but shows the same form Pulicant, l. 1471, in one of the *-ant laisses*. In consequence Jordan is probably correct in claiming[1] that his mythical origin is a fiction of the Italian.[2] The name Escopart in *AF* or Acopart in *CF* does not need to be the original form. For similar figures in mediaeval stories, see Panzer, *Hildr-Gudrun*,[3] p. 293.

It is not impossible that the plan of the French author to introduce the Cologne episode was the reason for this splitting of the rôle of Pulican. He plays a prominent part in this scene and the comic possibilities of his character are utilized to their full extent in the description of his baptism. Having kept him overtime, however, the author does not know what to do with him: the figure becomes inconsistent with itself. Escopart, faithful in the beginning, turns traitor and returns to Yvori. The various versions are not in accord here. In *AF* he becomes angry because Beves refuses to take him along during his second exile. In one version of *CF* (*R*) he had left Beves soon after his marriage, because he found the Christian religion not to his taste, in another (V^2) he leaves Beves because he does not like the pay which he received for his services. The other versions of *CF* dismiss him apparently without further notice, nor is it possible to determine from Stimming's abstract[4] whether he appears again. In *AF* Yvori fits him out with an army to capture Josiane. He finds her after her imprisonment and carries her away. This same fact is related by the Vienna version (*W*) of *CF*,[5] and in *R* also Yvori intrusts him with a ship and army as reward for his return. Finally, when Sabot liberates Josiane he kills Escopart in *AF*, and this trait reappears in *W*. Whether it is present also in *PR* which usally agree with *W* cannot be determined from Stimming's abstract.

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 62.

[2] Note the elaborate description of his origin in the *Reali*, chap. 27.

[3] Halle, 1901. [4] See *Tobler volume*, p. 30. [5] See Boje, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

The uncertainty of the various versions with reference to this character is evidence that his final development seemed illogical. Their disagreement emphasizes, therefore, the impression that the French plot with reference to Escopart is an awkward elaboration of a scene that is perfectly logical and complete in the Italian version.

By the side of these larger duplications, minor repetitions are constant. In fact a large portion of the variations of *CF* belong to this category. To enumerate these would lead too far, but the following points deserve mention:

1. Beves first rebukes his mother (l. 211) and later disturbs a feast and attacks his stepfather (ll. 286 ff.).

2. The theft of the horse Arundel is thought of twice in *AF*. First the prince of England tries to steal him (ll. 2551 ff.), then Sabot dreams that a hundred lions kill the horse (l. 2734). Arundel kills the prince of England because he allows no stranger to approach him, and throws Yvori to the ground, when the latter tries to ride him (ll. 1020 ff.).

3. The palmer whom Beves meets on his way to Damascus is the son of Sabot sent out to seek him (l. 837). Similarly Sabot, disguised as a palmer, seeks Josiane (l. 2743) and both later hunt Beves till they find him (l. 2963).

4. Doon throws a knife at the messenger who informs him of the identity of Gyrald de Dygon who had enlisted under him, and kills his brother (l. 2221).[1] In like manner the mother kills the messenger who brings her the news of Doon's defeat (l. 2371). Both traits are peculiar to *AF*.

5. Beves has a dream telling him of Josiane's danger in Cologne in version *CT* of *CF*, just as Sabot (l. 2731) and his wife (l. 2738) dream that Beves is in danger. In both cases relief is at once planned.

The explanation offered here does not solve all the difficulties which the problem presents. Though *It* has proved itself independent in tradition and of fundamental critical value, it does not

[1] Let us note in passing that this brother plays no further rôle in *AF* while in *It* he is trusted adviser of Dodone, when the latter first receives the invitation to come and kill Buovo's father. In *CF*, on the other hand, Doon in his initial attack is aided by a nephew, but the scene referred to here is absent.

follow that the form which it gives us of the Beves story is in every way identical with the original version. I have shown that in its essential outline it is built on the same formula as the *Song of Horn* and *Ille et Galeron*. Since this similarity is completely shown by the *Veneto* text as we have it, we may conclude that the lost original did not seriously exceed in quantity the story contained in this manuscript. Whether it was of insular or continental origin remains, however, still an open question, for *Horn* belongs to England and *Ille et Galeron* was written in France, and in the very region where *CF* locates the Beves story. To be sure, certain features seem to point to the continent. There is in the first place the very definite agreement of *CF* with *It*, and further certain passages in *AF* which attach the story externally and mechanically to insular environment. Of this type the race of Arundel after which the city of Arundel is named (l. 2522) is the most prominent. It locates the story in the neighborhood of Little-Hampton-on-the-sea (*Hampton sur mer*, l. 2811) and Arundel in Sussex.

The whole question must, however, remain open for the present. These English features might be secondary additions, even if the primitive story was insular in origin, and the geography of the existing versions is not in discord with this conception. Insular in setting but not very distinct in outline, *It* might have shifted it to suit its own environment, *CF* might have located the scene in France, but failed to wipe out all the insular traces, and *AF* might have elaborated the same data into a distinct insular scene and locality.

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